THE CRISIS

A RECORD OF THE DARKER RACES

Volume One DECEMBER, 1910 Number Two

Edited by W. E. BURGHARDT DU BOIS, with the co-operation of Oswald Garrison Villard, J. Max Barber, Charles Edward Russell, Kelly Miller, W. S. Braithwaite and M. D. Maclean.

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PUBLISHED MONTHLY BY THE
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OBJECT.—The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is an organization composed of men and women of all races and classes who believe that the present widespread increase of prejudice against colored races and particularly the denial of rights and opportunities to ten million Americans of Negro descent is not only unjust and a menace to our free institutions, but also is a direct hindrance to World Peace and the realization of Human Brotherhood.

METHODS.—The encouragement of education and efforts for social uplift; the dissemination of literature; the holding of mass meetings; the maintenance of a lecture bureau; the encouragement of vigilance committees; the investigation of complaints; the maintenance of a Bureau of Information; the publication of THE CRISIS; the collection of facts and publication of the truth.

ORGANIZATION.—All interested persons are urged to join our organization —associate membership costs $1, and contributing and sustaining members pay from $2 to $25 a year.

FUNDS.—We need $10,000 a year for running expenses of this work and particularly urge the necessity of gifts to help on our objects.

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Along the Color Line

JIM CROW.

By what dread logic, by what grand neglect,
Wide as our nation, doth this relic last—
This relic of old sterile customs past
Long since into deep shame without respect?
Even I whom this contrivance fain would teach
A low submission, pray within my soul
That these my masters may not reap the dole
Of finding remedy beyond their reach.
In lofty mood I mount the reeking box,
And travel through the land. So Terence once
Moved in old Rome. So—wondrous paradox—
Moved Esop in old Greece, the dwarf and dunce.
Then I reflect how their immortal wit
Makes the world laugh with mockery of it.

—Leslie Pinckney Hill in The Public.

POLITICAL.

There was much excitement among Negroes during the election in Oklahoma. The attempt was made to shut out all of the Negro voters. There was some rioting, Negroes at Guthrie seizing the voting booth and ousting election officers at other places. The last news is that the Democrats propose to throw out the votes of all precincts where Negroes voted. Such wholesale disfranchisement would save the Democrats the legislature and perhaps the governorship. There has been some conflict between State and Federal authorities on the subject. Resolutions charging the Republican leaders of Oklahoma with delinquency in supporting the Negro race and calling upon the Negroes of the State to support the entire Socialist ticket were adopted by an association of amalgamated Negro organizations of the State, which was organized there. The resolutions placed the association on record as favoring the proposed women suffrage amendment to the constitution, and memorialized Congress to reduce the representation in Oklahoma in proportion to the number of black citizens disfranchised by the grandfather amendment to the constitution, in case that amendment is not declared unconstitutional by the courts. A law was demanded relieving the disfranchised Negro of the poll tax obligation.

Just before the election the administration at Washington showed signs of alarm over the Negro vote. Various prospective appointments of Negroes were unofficially announced, including that of W. H. Lewis as Assistant United States Attorney. Franklin MacVeagh, Secretary of the Treasury, made public a long letter that he has written to a Negro organization in Chicago, explaining why a colored man was not appointed as chief of a division in the office of the Auditor for the Post-office Department, the vacancy having been created by the death of a Negro. The Secretary explains that the division chiefs in the Treasury Department are in the classified Civil Service, and are selected on merit.

"There is no disposition," says the Secretary, "on the part of the present administration of the Treasury Department to discriminate against the colored race.

"On the contrary, every care has been taken to avoid discrimination and to see to it that exact justice is done to all. For instance, out of 66 colored employees in the office of the Auditor for the Post-office Department who are eligible under civil service rules for promotion, 26, or 39.3 per cent. have been promoted since February, 1908.

"Also, on September 2, 1910, Mr. Theodore H. Green, a colored man, was appointed by me as acting disbursing officer for the office of the Auditor of the Post-office Department, one of the most responsible positions in the office. Mr. Green disburses salaries amounting to $760,000 annually, paying a force of 711 officers and employees twice each month."

In Clinton, La., the total registered votes for the parish of East Feliciana is 609. Six hundred and seven are white and two colored. Eight registered as Republicans and four declined to declare their party affiliation.

The Lower House of the Texas Legislature, by a vote of 51 to 34, instructed Senators and Congressmen to work for the repeal of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Federal Constitution conferring franchise upon Negroes.

The fact that no colored student has ever been admitted to Princeton was brought against Governor-elect Wilson in the last campaign.

There is some rumor of a colored man being appointed as Sub-Treasurer in the Mint at Philadelphia.

Harry W. Bass, who was elected to the Assembly from the Sixth District, compris-

ing the Seventh Ward of Philadelphia, Penn., will be the first Negro to sit in the Pennsylvania Legislature. Bass's vote exceeded that of Tener, due to the large Negro registration in the ward. Bass was born in Chester County, and is 44 years old. He lives at 1428 Lombard street.

The Democrats of West Virginia had the following plank in their platform of 1908: "Believing that the extension of the elective franchise to a race inferior in intelligence and without preparation for the wise and prudent exercise of the privilege so vital to the maintenance of good government was a mistake, if not a crime, committed by the Republican party during the reign of passion and prejudice following the Civil War, for political ends and purposes, we declare that the Democratic party is in favor of so amending the Constitution as to preserve the purity of the ballot and the electorate of the State from the evils resulting from conferring power and privilege upon those who are unfitted to appreciate its importance as it affects the stability and preservation of good government." The question is now whether they will seek to carry out the declaration.

In the Seventh Congressional District of Indiana, 7,000 Negro votes held the balance of power in the last election.

In Cairo, Ill., there was a fierce campaign over the present sheriff, Nellis, who on the evening of February 17 of the present year repulsed, with the aid of Negro deputies, an assault upon the county jail in Cairo. The mob had gathered in the saloons on the levee, and, inflamed with liquor, marched upon the jail with the purpose of taking from the sheriff's custody and stringing up to a convenient post a Negro purse snatcher, John Pratt, who had been arrested the day before. One of the mob was killed. Nellis was defeated.

The Fairmount, W. Va., Times, says: "Stick to the Negro till after the election, then organize a white Republican party if you want to," is the injunction said to have emanated from the White House yesterday, when John G. Capers, former Commissioner of Internal Revenue, was summoned there for a conversation with the President. Capers has since formed a lily-white Republican party in South Carolina.

In Ohio, Secretary of State Thompson, after a telephone conversation with Clerk Adolph Haas, granted the Cuyahoga County Board of Elections a hearing on the question as to whether registration officers may ask a man whether he is white or colored.

One candidate for office in Oklahoma made enemies by declaring that the best blood of the white South ran in the veins of 90 per cent. of the Negroes of the State.

The Independent Political League carried on a vigorous and widespread campaign among the colored voters in Northern and Western States. They had a large number of campaign speakers and organizers at work in New York, New Jersey, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Michigan, Ohio, Illinois, Indiana and Missouri, and are co-operating with independent Republican and Democratic organizations in Maine, North Carolina and Tennessee, and with similar bodies in the other States mentioned above.

JUDICIAL DECISIONS.

In the United States Circuit Court of the District of Maryland, Judge Morris made a decision, October 28th, declaring that the attempt of the Annapolis registrars to disfranchise Negroes was illegal and that they are liable to damages. The decision says among other things that "the common sense of the situation would seem to be that the law forbidding the deprivation or abridgment of the right to vote on account of race or color being the supreme law, any State law commanding such deprivation or abridgment is nugatory and not to be obeyed by any one; and any one who does enforce it does so at his known peril, and is made liable to an action for damages by the simple act of enforcing a void law to the injury of the plaintiff in the suit, and no allegations of malice need be alleged or proved."

Charles J. Bonaparte was the leading attorney for the plaintiffs, and the case may yet go to the Supreme Court.

Negro minstrels traveling in private cars are entitled to the same treatment as white occupants of such cars, according to a decision of the Interstate Commerce Commission, in the case of Pat Chappelle against the Louisville and Nashville Railroad.

In Mississippi the Legislature passed a law to levy taxes on whites and Negroes for agricultural schools for whites. One Negro brought the matter to court and the Chancery Court declared the legislation unconstitutional. Eventually this went to the Supreme Court of Mississinni, and the lower court was upheld.

On complaint of Mary Beausola, colored, Patrick Sullivan, head waiter of Riordan Brothers' liquor store and cafe, Boston, was charged with unlawful discrimination against a Negro. Sullivan pleaded not guilty, but Judge Wentworth fined him $100, from which sentence he appealed. Mary Beausola is light in color. She accompanied a Mr. and Mrs. Samuel Sutherland to the cafe, where food and liquor were ordered for all. The waiter insisted that the rule of the house was against serving colored and white persons together.

In Oklahoma judicial decision upholds the grandfather clause, but broadens its application so as to except Indians and certain Negroes from the educational qualification and to include some foreigners.

The District Court of Appeals in the District of Columbia is wrestling with the problem of what constitutes Negro" under the law. Arguments were heard in connection with the case of Stephen Wall, an employee of the Government Printing Office, whose 8-year-old daughter Isabel was dismissed from the Brookland Public School on the allegation that the child had one-sixteenth Negro blood in her veins. Wall filed a petition for a writ of mandamus in the District Supreme Court, after which Justice Wright asked the Board of Education to fix the racial status of the girl. By a vote of 5 to 8 she was declared a Negro, "for school purposes." Justice Wright sustained the Board, and the case then went to the Court of Appeals.

Several Southern laws, which have reduced Negro farm hands to virtual peonage, are to be tested before the United States Supreme Court. The case is the appeal of an Alabama Negro convicted of violating the contract law, upheld by the State Supreme Court, under which he was sentenced to a fine equivalent to 126 days' hard labor for the county. The Federal Department of Justice believes that the law imposes compulsory service in satisfaction of debt, reducing the Negroes to actual slavery.

The law provides that in contracts of service entered into by a laborer, where money was advanced, and the contract broken without just cause, and the money not refunded, the laborer is guilty, and may be sentenced to hard labor until the fine is worked out. The Federal Department contends that the purpose and effect of the law is not to stop fraudulent practices so much as to impose compulsory service upon the Negroes who constitute the bulk of the farm labor of the State. The point that will be attacked most vigorously is the Alabama rule of evidence in such cases, which, in practice, assumes that the Negro accused was guilty of intent to defraud, "contrary to the axiomatic and elementary principle of presumption of innocence in a criminal procedure."

The reports of the abuses existing under this contract system in the South have aroused widespread indignation as they have appeared from time to time when some exceptionally flagrant case was forced into publicity. Now that the Department of Justice has become interested, and the issue is to be placed before the supreme tribunal, a definite pronouncement may be expected.

The Mississippi Courts have refused to enjoin the Negro Knights of Pythias. The judge in giving his decision made the following remarkable statements:

"My political opinions and preferences are well known. My position on the race question is equally well understood, but this is a court of justice, where all men stand, and should stand, upon an absolute equality before the law. The Negroes in Mississippi do not vote, and should not; they do not sit upon our juries, and they should not; but they do come into this court asking for the white man's justice, which has been the boast and pride of our race, and they are entitled to it. The saddest day for this State, and the one that will put the blackest smirch upon the escutcheon of our race, will be the day when the white man's courts in the administration of the white man's law shall deny justice to the Negro, who is striving, as these defendants are striving, to elevate and build up the helpless of their race under a white man's government."

EDUCATION.

The field agent of the Slater Fund reports that in southwest Georgia within a certain radius of fifty miles there are 200,000 Negroes. The public school facilities for the Negroes of Houston County, and five adjacent counties are, to say the least, inadequate. The State School Commissioner's report for 1907, and there has been no material change in the colored schools since, shows the following: Enrollment of Negro children for the six counties, 11,256; attendance only 5,811, or 51 per cent. For the colored children there were 159 schools, or one for every 70 children of those enrolled. In five of these counties there was not a single schoolhouse owned by the County Board of Education. One county owned 19 out of 27 of its colored schoolhouses. The valuation of these 19 is given as $2,500. The average monthly cost for the education of colored pupils in these six counties is reported as $0.39 per pupil. The average monthly cost for white pupils, by the way, is $1.34 per pupil. For them there are 149 schools for an enrollment of 6,529, or one school for every 43 pupils. Their attendance is 61 per cent. of the enrollment. Of the 149 white schools 84 have schoolhouses valued at $24,840, and owned by the County Boards of Education.

In order to induce the city of Savannah to relieve the wretchedly crowded Negro schools by a new building, the colored people are raising money to buy a site if the city will put up the building.

An application has been received by the Yale Bureau of Appointments and Self-Help from John Morrison, a Negro, who is deaf and dumb and blind in one eye, for assistance in getting through the Yale Law School, where he has passed into the Senior Class. He has the degree of Bachelor of Law from Shaw University.

Edmund J. James, president of the University of Illinois, in a speech at St. Paul,

Minn., said: "The condition of American education to-day is in many respects a national reproach. In no other nation claiming to be civilized is there at the present time so large a population in such educational degradation as the American Negro.

"If there is any situation in our present society for which the nation as a whole is responsible, surely the condition of the American Negro is such. The establishment of slavery was brought about by the co-operation of North and South alike. The continuance of slavery was recognized and supported by the Constitution and the law, and upon the abolition of slavery the American Negro was in reality, and should have been in fact, a national ward."

The buildings of the colored Berea are finally in course of erection in Shelby County, Ky. They will cost $100,000 and be placed upon a five-hundred acre farm. The school will be known as Lincoln Institute.

Mason A. Hawkins, principal of the Baltimore Colored High School, was granted the degree of Master of Arts at Columbia University in October. Mr. Hawkins is a graduate of Harvard.

In the New Mexico Constitutional Convention the question of separate schools for whites and Negroes was threshed out before the Committee on Education. The view finally prevailed that this matter need not be covered by the Constitution, and should be left to each school district for decision, with this proviso, however, that the Constitution provide that no separate schools should be maintained for reasons of language, nationality or religion.

The colored people of New Orleans are trying to get the city to provide them with a night school.

The whites of Baltimore are protesting against the location of a new Negro school.

Virginia gives $20,000 a year to support the Colored Normal and Industrial Institute at Petersburg. The students add $24,000 to this. There are nearly 600 students in attendance this year.

The trustees of the Peabody Fund are still trying to wind up its affairs and divide the money. Some of the capital has been lost through the repudiation of Southern State bonds. Negro institutions ought to be the beneficiaries, as they have received comparatively little from the Fund.

The Alabama Educational Association (white) has come out against compulsory education.

A protest has been sent to the Southern Educational Board on the attitude of the Board toward Negro education.

THE CHURCH.

St. Thomas Church, Philadelphia, celebrated its 164th anniversary November 8th.

The American Missionary Association reports the following schools in the South:

EDUCATIONAL WORK IN THE SOUTH

	Negro.	White.	Total.
SCHOOLS			
Theological	3	1	4
Colleges	3	1	4
Secondary Institutions	25	3	28
Elementary Institutions	9	3	12
Affiliated Institutions	6	..	6
Ungraded Schools	23	..	23
Officers and Instructors	507	84	591
Pupils	13,449	1,777	15,226
Boarding Students	2,107	427	2,534
PUPILS			
Theological	133	81	214
Collegiate	155	21	176
Secondary Grades	1,974	259	2,233
Elementary Grades	11,038	1,397	12,435
Specials	463	71	534
Pupils			15,592
Counted twice			366
Total			15,226

The opening of the Negro Catholic Church in Kansas is the beginning of a $30,000 institution and school.

Through Bishop Paret's decision, Miss Catherine Philpot, of Baltimore, has won her fight for the burial in the churchyard of St. James' Episcopal Church, at My Lady's Manor, in Baltimore County, of Charles Ridout, an aged Negro, for forty years a servant in her family. As a result of the peculiar contest the congregation of the church is divided.

In the Episcopal convention, Rev. Joseph Dunn, of Southern Virginia, declared that the emancipation of the Negroes was a dire disaster, and that the Church, by this act, has 45 years of misguidance to undo.

At the late Episcopal convention Mr. James H. Dillard, agent of the Jeanes Fund, declared it was dangerous to generalize on any subject connected with Negro life. The race contained many devout and able men who are fully qualified, he believed, to be the spiritual leaders of their people in the episcopate. He frankly admitted in effect that the proposed plan, of racial bishops, would result in the ecclesiastical segregation of Negro churchmen, but he justified this by pointing to the strong tendency to segregation now taking place in everyday life. In some States whole counties are becoming exclusively Negro counties. Segregation is not necessarily un-Christian. It may be accompanied by abundant good will. Not only is the racial episcopate in line with the tendency to segregate, but it seems the only way out and the Negro wants it, therefore he would give it.

ECONOMIC.

In Kansas City the fine $5,000 new residence of Mathew Anderson, colored, which was nearing completion, was wrecked by dynamite a few nights ago. The whites of the community seem to have been jealous of this colored man's being able to build a good home and caused it to be blown up.

In St. Louis Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, made a speech variously reported, but certainly discouraging the taking of Negroes into labor unions. In a telegram to THE CRISIS Mr. Gompers denies saying anything "derogatory to the race."

The fight to segregate Negroes in Baltimore is still under consideration in the City Council. The proposed measure does not apply to servants.

In St. Paul, Minn., a colored man, Dr. Hector J. Bell, Sixth street, dentist, has just turned over four pieces of city property, valued at $24,100, as part payment on $40,000 worth of Montana farm lands. Dr. Bell disposed in this trade of his duplex house on Lincoln avenue, at $12,000. This is in the heart of the white aristocracy district, and last year when he put colored tenants in it there was almost a race war caused.

In the New York custom service there are 234 colored employees, drawing $35,000 a year. In the Internal Revenue Service in New York there are the following colored men: One Collector of Internal Revenue, $4,500 a year; one Examiner of Corporations, $3,500 per year; one United States Internal Revenue Gauger, $1,400 per year; one Division Deputy Collector, $1,400 per year; one Office Deputy, $1,200 per year; one Stamp Deputy, $1,200 per year; one Stenographer, $1,200 per year; one Corporation Deputy, $900 per year; one Messenger Clerk, $900 per year.

Fifty white Atlanta real estate men have entered into an agreement not to rent or sell property to Negroes within the limits prescribed by the Fourth Ward Progressive Club. There has been a meeting between the Mayor and several representative colored citizens on the subject.

The colored True Reformers' Bank of Richmond, Va., has failed, with $350,000 liabilities, and the Galilean Bank of Hampton Va., is said to be insolvent. It is hoped that the insurance department of the True Reformers may be saved from the wreck.

An interesting incident occurred a few days ago at the opening of The Hampton, the City and Suburban Homes Company's new model tenements for colored people at No. 210 West Sixty-third Street, New York City. These buildings contain 127 apartments, and when they were opened to receive tenants on Monday, October 24, 90 families were waiting to move in, and in four days more every apartment was rented with the exception of two. This shows the great opportunity there is at the present time for building model tenements for colored people in this city.

The City and Suburban Homes Company has already had an experience of ten years with colored families as tenants in its West Sixty-second street property, and as manager of the Phipps houses for colored people in West Sixty-third street. Both of these investments have furnished a most satisfactory record. The colored tenants in both buildings have shown themselves to be excellent tenants, quite as orderly, cleanly and prompt in the payment of rent as the company's white tenants. During one year there has not been a single dispossession for disorderly conduct.

The assessors of Richmond, Va., report property to the value of $2,500,000 owned in the city by colored people.

The Governor of Kansas is investigating the case of George N. Williams, a colored man. Williams charges that the citizens of Pratt refuse to permit him to move into a residence he has bought; that they warned him not to move in and that when they thought he was moving in they shot his house full of rifle slugs. It is countercharged by Pratt people that Williams and another man went into a deal to make a thousand dollars on the price of the property because of the prejudice against Negroes in that particular locality.

SOCIAL UPLIFT.

A good deal is being done in the Washington colored schools to encourage athletics. Spaulding has issued a handbook on the subject, giving the reports of the performers in these and allied schools.

Mr. Tom Bass, a Missouri colored man, has an international reputation as a horse trainer. Among his prized possessions is a personal letter from Queen Victoria inviting Mr. Bass to bring his favorite horse to the royal horse show held in London. Bass has more than 1,000 "blue ribbons," several hundred "red" ones and more than a dozen silver loving cups which he won in various parts of the United States, Canada and Mexico on horses that he has trained.

Mr. Booker T. Washington has called together a number of his friends to organize a semi-centennial exposition for the Negro, to be held at Tuskegee; $10,000 has been contributed for the preliminary plans.

The Fourth Annual Colored State Fair has been held in Georgia.

The Colored State Fair of South Carolina was held in Columbia.

A few colored men have been appointed on the county constabulary of Charlotte, N. C.

Mr. Booker T. Washington with a number of companions has been making a tour of the State of North Carolina.

The Governor of Virginia made an address at the Virginia Colored State Fair.

The North Carolina Colored State Fair was the largest ever held.

Five hundred white citizens have successfully protested against the establishment of the Negro park in Memphis, Tenn. Colored people taxed for public parks in that city are not allowed to use them.

A Negro Organization Society has been formed in Virginia, at the suggestion of the Hampton Negro Conference, to organize social and educational work.

From Springfield, Tenn., a local report says that the first Colored Industrial Fair was a success, from a financial standpoint, there being a large attendance and a number of fine exhibits. The colored people are commended for the interest shown and the good order that prevailed during the entire time of the fair.

A successful Negro fair was held at Trenton, Tenn. The exhibit of horses was especially good.

The Eighth Illinois Regiment, composed of colored men, have celebrated their fifteenth anniversary in the presence of 5,000 citizens. This regiment was mustered into the Illinois National Guard in 1895 under Governor Altgeld. It has a splendid record, having served in Cuba and on riot duty.

CRIME.

Near Asbury Park, N. J., a colored man has been accused of murdering a child. Lynching was threatened for a while, but the prisoner has maintained his innocence, and the police now think that he is telling the truth, after they have tortured him with the "Third Degree."

At Montezuma, Ga., two Negroes have been lynched for killing a night policeman.

In Maryland, Dick Titus, a colored person, has just died. When the city jail caught fire, in 1893, he saved prisoners and firemen from death. Titus has spent the best part of his life in prison. Most of his offenses were larceny. It was said that all the goods that Titus stole would not amount to $100 worth. He was sent to Bayview several months ago, having been picked up on the street sick.

In Huntington, W. Va., several race riots have taken place in which a Negro, supposed to be George Johnson, was killed, three of a posse probably fatally wounded and five others shot. There were numerous fights between the whites and the blacks. Negroes were knocked down on the least provocation and threats made to wipe out the entire Negro population.

FOREIGN.

The Hon. Ernest Lyon has returned to America, having been succeeded by Dr. Crum as Minister to Liberia. A number of severe charges were filed against Mr. Lyon, and considerable bitterness is manifest over him in the Liberian papers.

Liberia will elect a President in a few months.

Mention has been made of the paper of Mr. G. W. Ellis, F. R. G. S., the colored ex-Secretary of the Liberian Legation, at the Races Conference recently held at Clark University. President G. Stanley Hall pronounces this paper "one of the most condensed and admirable reports of the whole conference."

Dinuzulu, the South African Zulu Chief, has been released from confinement, in which he has been held since the last attempted Zulu uprising.

An investigator of the English Aborigines Society reports as follows as to conditions in Mexico:

"I am asked to emphasize the important fact that several investigators, entirely ignorant of the presence of other parties in the territory, and traveling in different directions, and with different objects, all arrive at practically the same conclusions; that these conclusions coincide with the revelations made in the Mexican press itself; that this independent and public testimony confirms the private information in the possession of the Society from many correspondents in Mexico—again unacquainted with each other. The whole of this testimony tends to show that a system of peonage is widely prevalent, involving many thousands of human beings in Yucatan in a bondage at once as cruel and hopeless as almost any form of slavery within the knowledge of the Society. This testimony, coming as it does from many sources, including different nationalities; from merchants, missionaries, travelers, and journalists; supported by photographic evidence; first from one, then from another part of Mexico, cannot—in the opinion of my Committee—be lightly dismissed as being 'highly colored and overdrawn.'"

OPINION

OKLAHOMA.

The decision of the Oklahoma Supreme Court sustaining the "grandfather" clause in the State Constitution has excited some editorial comment, but not as much as the importance of the matter would seem to demand. The New York Evening Post calls attention to the fact that the court exempts the Indians from the educational test on the ground that they were under an electoral form of government prior to 1866.

"Naturally," says the Post, "the Negroes are very indignant at the plight they find themselves in—not because they are afraid of the educational test, but because they know that the test will be applied so as to pass every white man, foreign-born or otherwise, while they will be defrauded of a part in the government—through the Indians' vote—by subterfuge, by trickery or open lawlessness. To the credit of the Republicans be it said that they have no part in this fraud, and that their candidate for Governor denounces it."

The St. Paul Pioneer Press remarks: "In most of the Southern States that have adopted such disfranchising amendments the plea is made that the plan is necessary to prevent Negro domination of the political affairs. The statistics of population show some warrant for this contention, particularly in Louisiana, Mississippi and Alabama, where the Negro population is about equal to that of the white, but no such excuse can be urged in Oklahoma. With the whites outnumbering the Negroes by more than 12 to 1, the talk of a fear of Negro domination is simply ridiculous."

The Boston Morning Herald says that while there are "as many ways of disfranchising a Negro in the South as of killing Satan" the Oklahoma method is beautifully simple and direct. "It takes a vigorous, untrammeled new community like Oklahoma to disregard musty precedent and establish injustice after its own bold and original fashion."

The Southern press does not seem to have commented widely. The Charleston News and Courier is frank and direct:

In thus putting herself in line with the action of other Southern States, in which the Negro population is large, Oklahoma evinces a proper understanding of the necessities of the occasion. Popular government even in the North suffers terribly because of ballots cast by ignorant or vicious men. When to the vote of this vicious white element is added the vote of thousands of Negroes, popular government, which must be based on intelligence if it is to be effective, is struck a body blow. The Oklahoma case will finally come before the United States Supreme Court, but there is little reason to believe that that tribunal will interfere with the State Constitution as it stands, Republicans themselves having been foremost in teaching the doctrine of expediency. We believe that the "grandfather" clause is constitutional, but if it is not, according to the dangerous teachings of Mr. Roosevelt, even a "fossilized" court will see the advantage of reading constitutionality into it by construction.

The New Orleans Picayune is noncommittal: "The place of the Negro in the political and social and business life of the country will one day be finally settled. His place will be very much as he himself makes it under the sanctions and restraints of law. He will get what he deserves, and no man should get more."

SOCIALISTS IN OKLAHOMA.

The organ of the New York Socialists, the Call, gives this hearty welcome to the Oklahoma Negro Socialists:

A convention of various Negro associations, recently held at Chickasha, Okla., has indorsed the platform of the Socialist party and has advised all the colored people of Oklahoma to vote the Socialist ticket. This action of the Negroes of Oklahoma is destined to be recognized as of epoch-making importance in the history of the American Negroes as well as in the history of American Socialism.

By this action the Negroes of Oklahoma are blazing a pathway to true freedom for their entire race in this country. For the problem of the Negro in America is essentially a part of the great labor problem. The Negro is despised and robbed of his rights for the reason that, taken as a whole, he belongs to the most exploited section of the working class. The Negro has to bear not only the burden of wage labor, but also the burden that he has inherited from the days of slavery. His present is weighted down by his past. And the action of the Negroes of Oklahoma is an emphatic expression of their resolve to help themselves in the present by joining the ranks of those who in working for the present never forget the future.

But the action of the Oklahoma Negroes is also of the greatest significance to the Socialist movement of this country. It is a principle universally acknowledged by Socialists that although Socialism is primarily the movement of the working class for the overthrow of capitalist rule, it nevertheless must rush to the assistance of every oppressed class or race or nationality. The working class cannot achieve its ultimate grand aim of freeing itself from exploitation unless it frees all other elements of the community from exploitation. It cannot put an end to its own oppression unless it puts an end to all forms of oppression. Our party must stand everywhere on the side of the weak and oppressed, even if this course should bring upon us temporary reverses. Ultimate victory can be achieved in no other way.

THE MARYLAND DECISION.

Judge Morris of the United States Circuit Court has declared unconstitutional the Annapolis attempt to disfranchise Negroes and considerable comment has resulted. Says the Baltimore News:

No matter how much of an evil one may think Negro suffrage, it has always seemed to The News that it was a foolish thing to try to get rid of it by flying directly in the face of the Constitution of the United States, the Federal courts, which are here to declare what it is, and the Federal administration, which is here to enforce it. It is still possible to disfranchise ignorance, or vice, or poverty in Maryland. We can have an educational qualification or a property qualification whenever the people of the State declare for it. All that Judge Morris' decision means is that when we disfranchise ignorance we must not look at the color of skin; when we disfranchise vice, it must not be only vice in the black man, and, if we disfranchise poverty, the application must be to all poverty alike. This is the law, Judge Morris declares, as Congress meant it to be. The decision is precisely what those who have fought against this method of trying to get rid of the Negro voter anticipated if the case ever got into court. It is to be hoped, however, that an appeal will be taken to the Supreme Court of the United States, so that the highest authority in the land may pass upon this vexed question, settle it past all dispute and get it out of the way of other things more important to Maryland's progress and welfare.

The Springfield Republican says this is the first time a court has squarely faced the "grandfather" disfranchising clause. "In the past, federal judges even as high up as those of the United States Supreme Court have decided these cases on technical points of jurisdiction or the like, evading the issue of disfranchisement as presented by the acts in question. Judge Morris's decision indicates what must happen whenever a United States court can be brought squarely to the point of passing judgment on the 'grandfather' hocus pocus." The New York Sun, however, says:

It may be doubted whether the decision rendered by Judge Thomas J. Morris in the United States Circuit Court in Maryland invalidating the law of 1908 which sought to exclude Negroes from local elections would, if affirmed by the Supreme Court of the United States, have the effect of erasing the "grandfather clause" from the statute books of several Southern States.

The Annapolis law, as it is called in Maryland, could be sustained only if it were determined that the Fifteenth Amendment did not apply to all public elections, State or local as well as national. The framers of the Annapolis law contended that as Maryland had never accepted the Fifteenth Amendment the Legislature in regulating local elections was not bound by it; they conceded that no law could be put on the statute book to prevent absolutely the participation of Negroes in Congress elections. If it be assumed that the Supreme Court will affirm Judge Morris's decision it does not follow that the "grandfather clause" in the Constitutions of Southern States will be declared invalid in consequence.

The Springfield (Mo.) Journal declares: "If the Constitution, or any of its amendments, places the Negro citizen on an equal political footing with the white citizen, no attempt at subterfuge or illegal compromise should be permitted in any of the Southern States. That some Negroes, or a majority of the race, may be ignorant, or

improvident, or brutal, is aside from the main issue; if they have any constitutional rights, the whole power of the Constitution should be brought into play to the end that they may get those rights."

Mr. William L. Marbury, one of the counsel in the Annapolis registration law cases on the anti-Negro side, gave an interview to the Baltimore Sun in which he said: "I am glad to see that my friend, Mr. Bonaparte, is advising the Republican party of this State to test the question of the validity of the laws for the limitation of the franchise of the Negro in the courts. The Supreme Court alone has the ultimate decision of these questions, and I presume, of course, that these cases will go to that tribunal on writ of error. We are a law-abiding people, and whatever the Supreme Court says on this subject will be accepted as absolutely binding, as a matter of course. I for one am only too glad to see this controversy transferred from the political area to the judicial tribunals of the land."

Rabbi William Rosenau, of Baltimore, preached a sermon on the topic: "United in Our Humanity," in the course of which he said: "If you would have an example of the unwarranted disaffection between races, which, disregarding all ties of humanity, has eventuated in enmity, then consider that reprehensible attitude of the white man, which would go the lengths, not merely of depriving the Negro of his Constitutional franchise, but also of limiting his educational advantages. Civil rights should never be withdrawn with the establishment of social discrimination."

THE LEWIS APPOINTMENT.

Late in October an apparently well-founded rumor declared that President Taft would appoint William H. Lewis, of Boston, to be an assistant attorney-general of the United States. Under the date of October 27, N. B. Marshall, the colored lawyer who was associate counsel for the dismissed Brownsville battalion, addressed a letter to the President, in which he said:

The appointment of a few colored men to high Federal offices, although delayed until a few days before election, does not blind the eyes of the colored people to the wrongs and injustices they are suffering from the nullification of the Constitution, which you are sworn to uphold. When we recall your Greensboro, New Orleans and Kansas City speeches, and your inaugural address, in which you, for the first time since the war amendments were adopted, boldly proclaimed a policy for colored citizens flagrantly at variance with the fundamental law of the land, we feel that you insult our intelligence by assuming that the American Negro is so ignorant and venal that he would exchange his political and civil rights for a few offices.

We cannot forget that while you are appointing a few Negroes to office you have removed hundreds from office. We cannot forget that while our people in the Southern States are being disfranchised, indiscriminately "jim-crowed" and massacred by savage mobs, you have voiced no protest. We cannot forget that it was you who charged the colored soldiers with "conspiracy of silence" at Brownsville, which charge was completely and emphatically disproved by two great tribunals; nor can we forget that it was you, who, when the funds of the Brownsville Court Enquiry became exhausted before the enquiry was complete, refused to permit your Secretary of War to ask Congress for more funds. And this, too, in spite of the fact that Senator Aldridge had promised to see to it that the Court of Enquiry should have all the money necessary for a full and fair hearing.

While we are glad and grateful to receive our just dues in the appointment of some colored men to high office, what we want above all things is that you use the powerful influence of your exalted office to the creation of a national sentiment for securing to our people the rights guaranteed to them by the Constitution of the United States.

The Boston Post, pleased with the appointment, offers this forceful comment: "If Mr. Taft allows himself to be turned aside from the making of a fine and deserved appointment through the raising of the color issue by those servants of the government in Washington who cannot bear to think of an educated and refined Negro as their superior officer, he will prove himself more of a doughface than we can possibly imagine him to be." The Christian Science Monitor, of Boston, says: "Whatever construction is placed by political analysts on President Taft's announced decision to name William H. Lewis, of Boston, as

assistant attorney-general of the United States, there is certain to be widespread approval of the appointment, on the ground that it is a tribute to a race as well as to an individual." The Cleveland Plain Dealer disapproves of the appointment, but not on the ground of color: "There is no reason in the world why colored men of ability should not be given federal appointments. Intrinsically the appointment of colored men merits no censure. But the selection of this time, just before election, for making the appointments savors very strongly of cheap politics."

The Charleston News and Courier, as usual, goes directly to the point in an editorial, entitled, "A Sop to the Blacks," in which it calls the appointment a "palpable bid" for the Negro vote in doubtful States:

> The appointee is, we believe, the famous Harvard halfback who made such a wonderful football record a few years ago, and he is probably quite capable intellectually of discharging the duties of the important office to which he has been called, but even if this be true the appointment is not thereby to be justified nor is it any the more likely for that reason to meet with public approval.
>
> The public has a right to expect that in the filling of an office of the dignity and importance of the assistant attorney-generalship the appointee shall be a man acceptable to the body of the people, and we are profoundly convinced that the public generally does not approve the appointment of Negroes to positions of this character. This is true North as well as South. The race prejudice of the North differs materially from that of the South and it is largely irrational, but it is none the less real and it is steadily on the increase. In the face of it the appointment of colored men to high office is highly injudicious and must inevitably prove harmful to the Negroes generally. It were better for the race were the policy of baiting them with false hopes abandoned definitely and finally.

To this comment the Rochester (N. Y.) Democrat and Chronicle replies:

> This appointee represents a race in this country of 10,000,000 or more citizens. Among them are many men and women of education, ability and the highest moral character. The News and Courier says it is "profoundly convinced that the public generally does not approve the appointment of Negroes to positions of this character." To what "public" does our contemporary refer? There are Negrophobists in the North and in the South who object; but we do not believe that the masses of the American people, with their sense of justice and fairness, desire to shut out of participation in all Government affairs millions of American citizens simply because they belong to a race which is antagonized in this country by senseless prejudice and bigotry. The meanness of that proposition is equalled only by its cruelty.

The Houston (Texas) Chronicle, remarking that "the Negro in politics is, as a rule, the Negro out of work" prophesies that such an appointment "will tend to encourage the impudence and crime of bad Negroes."

A COLORED REFORMATORY.

The North Carolina Legislature will soon consider the question of establishing a reformatory for colored young people, and an organization has been formed among Negroes to further the movement. The Charlotte Observer quotes from the Lexington Dispatch the following story: "A colored woman who was raised in Greensboro died in New York, possessed of considerable estate accumulated through years of saving of wages earned in domestic service. In her will she bequeathed a valuable tract of 365 acres of land in Guilford County to be used as a nucleus fund for the establishment of a reformatory and manual training school for young Negroes. Wherever such a school is established she directed that the proceeds of the sale of this valuable farm should be applied to the fund necessary to begin active work." The Observer points out that sociologists are agreed boys should not be sent to jail to mix with hardened criminals, and after expressing its sympathy with the project concludes: "Few more important duties rest upon this Commonwealth than that connected with the proper training of its colored citizens. Surrounded by the proper environment the Negro has evidenced a most commendable disposition to make the best out of himself, not in isolated cases here and there, but in thousands of instances. Left to himself, especially in the cities, there are many obstacles to

his progress. It is to be hoped that the legislators will give serious consideration of the early establishment of this greatly needed institution and the story related by the Dispatch should furnish not a little food for thought."

BULLDOZING NEGROES.

The Louisville, Ky., Post, in an attack upon the police department, says: "Running along with this failure to detect crime and apprehend criminals was the systematic process of bulldozing the Negro population of Louisville. Causeless arrests were made. Provocations of every character were given by the police to the Negroes. Offensive and illegal commands were thrown at quiet, inoffensive citizens on the street. The policemen acted upon the assumption that the Negro had no rights, civil or political, that a police bully was bound to respect. The result was seen on registration days. Intimidation had been most effective. From four to five thousand Negroes were kept away from the polls. When that report went in there was great rejoicing in the Buckingham green room."

THE PANAMA EXPOSITION.

New Orleans Times-Democrat remarks: "The action of the Negro Baptist Convention in attaching to its resolutions indorsing New Orleans for the Panama Exposition a proviso demanding suspension or repeal of the 'Jim Crow' laws, not only in this city, but in the Southern States, requires, we think, a brief but emphatic reply. Even if the securement of the Exposition, important and greatly desired as it is, depended absolutely upon the abrogation of laws devised for the protection of both races, the people of New Orleans would never consent to a programme so fatuous and dangerous."

FOREIGN COMMENT.

The London Nation comments as follows on Mr. B. T. Washington's words in Europe:

Mr. Booker T. Washington recently gave us a glowing picture of the progress, industrial, intellectual and moral, made by his colored fellow-citizens in the United States during recent years. His policy, "Let politics alone and acquire efficiency," is, however, repudiated by a strong body of educated opinion in America, which finds expression in a remarkable letter published this week in the Press. The signatories point out that the withholding of the franchise, in the States where most Negroes live, is attended by a refusal of criminal and civil justice, a denial of equal opportunities of education, a caste proscription which practically excludes from most skilled trades and other grave disabilities. All aware of the current tendencies of American sentiment recognize that race feeling with all that it imports is growing more intense in all sections of the country, and that in various subtle ways it is eating into the very spirit of democracy. The doctrine of "equal rights for all civilized men" is definitely contravened by the constitutions and laws of most Southern States. Among the signatories of this powerful appeal to Europe, we find the names of many of the most influential teachers and professional men among the colored people.

The following cartoon from L'Assiette au Beurre, Paris, illustrating the life of Mr. Roosevelt, shows something of prevailing European opinion of America:

"I was born October 27, 1858, in the midst of indescribable enthusiasm.

"A great banquet was given. Each guest brought a present of ale, whisky, mutton chops, ginger ale, or corned beef. The poor people having nothing of this sort to offer decided to burn a Negro alive under our windows."

EDITORIAL

GOOD WILL TOWARD MEN.

THIS is the month of the Christ Child. This is the month when there was reborn in men the ideal of doing to their neighbors that which they would wish done to themselves. It was a divine idea—a veritable Son of God. In blood and tears the world has struggled toward this Star of Bethlehem, and to-day, in the intercourse of man with man within large and growing groups, we see glimmerings of the fulfilment of the vision. But in the intercourse of group with group and nation with nation and race with race the ideal has not only miserably failed, but even its truth has been denied. God grant that on some Christmas day our nation and all others will plant themselves on this one platform: Equal justice and equal opportunity for all races.

N. A. A. C. P.

WHAT is the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People? It is a union of those who believe that earnest, active opposition is the only effective way of meeting the forces of evil. They believe that the growth of race prejudice in the United States is evil. It is not always consciously evil. Much of it is born of ignorance and misapprehension, honest mistake and misguided zeal. However caused, it is none the less evil, wrong, dangerous, fertile of harm. For this reason it must be combatted. It is neither safe nor sane to sit down dumbly before such human error or to seek to combat it with smiles and hushed whispers. Fight the wrong with every human weapon in every civilized way.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is organized to fight the wrong of race prejudice:

(a) By doing away with the excuses for prejudice.
(b) By showing the unreasonableness of prejudice.
(c) By exposing the evils of race prejudice.

This is a large program of reform? It is, and this is because the evil is large. There is not to-day in human affairs a more subtle and awful enemy of human progress, of peace and sympathy than the reaction war and hatred that lurks in the indefinite thing which we call race prejudice. Does it not call for opposition—determined, persistent opposition? Are rational beings justified in sitting silently, willingly dumb and blind to the growth of this crime? We believe not. We are organized, then to say to the world and our country:

Negroes are men with the foibles and virtues of men.

To treat evil as though it were good and good as though it were evil is not only wrong but dangerous, since in the end it encourages evil and discourages good.

To treat all Negroes alike is treating evil as good and good as evil.

To draw a crass and dogged undeviating color line in human affairs is dangerous—as dangerous to those who draw it as to those against whom it is drawn.

We are organized to fight this great modern danger. How may we fight it?

1. By the argument of the printed word in a periodical like this, and in pamphlets and tracts.

2. By the spoken word in talk and lecture.

3. By correspondence.

4. By encouraging all efforts at social uplift.

5. By careful investigation of the truth in matters of social condition and race contact—not the truth as we

want it or you want it, but as it really is.

6. By individual relief of the wretched.

If you think such work is worth while aid us by joining our organization and contributing to it.

THE RACES IN CONFERENCE.

WE DOUBT if the Twentieth Century will bring forth a greater idea than the First Universal Races Congress in London, in the summer of 1911. Its possibilities are tremendous and its plan unique. Many will, of course, instinctively fear it. They will ask: "What good after all can come of such a congress? What can it do save talk—what can it initiate save profitless agitation?" The chief outcome of the Congress will be human contact—the meeting of men; not simply the physical meeting, eye to eye and hand to hand of those actually present, but the resultant spiritual contact which will run round the world.

Great as is the theoretical value of such human meeting there are many men and good men who shrink from it with strange fear. Some quail at meeting any stranger, more at meeting men alien in look and habit.

Outside this physical shrinking which we have in common with children, comes the mental recoil—the disinclination to have our thoughts and ideas disarranged and upset. And still further on comes the moral dread of blame—of facing the man we have wronged and hearing the hurt from his own quivering lips. From such fears comes an eagerness to justify exclusion—to refuse any association with lower classes or lower races and sometimes in extreme cases we seek in our panic to build walls and say not simply "I will not meet and listen to the stranger," but "you shall not on penalty of my high displeasure."

The Races Congress is the meeting of the World on a broad plane of human respect and equality. In no other way is human understanding and world peace and progress possible. Every attempt to reach the desired goal otherwise has had failure written on its forehead.

To be sure, we are fond of experimenting in these lines. We like to assemble on the avenue and discuss the East Side or meet at Mohonk and discuss the Indians, who are seldom present, or form a Southern Educational Board, whose meetings no Negro may attend. Such meetings may do good, but they can never settle the problems they attempt and their unanimity is always deceptive and often misleading. Only the man himself can speak for himself. We say: Put yourself in his place; but after all we know that no human soul can thus change itself. The voice of the oppressed alone can tell the real meaning of oppression and, though the voice be tremulous, excited and even incoherent, it must be listened to if the world would learn and know.

Only then in a world-wide contact of men in which the voices of all races are heard shall we begin that contact and sympathy which in God's good time will bring out of war and hatred and prejudice a real democracy of races and of nations. As some slight step toward this vast end has the Races Congress been called in London.

To such a meeting should go particularly those people to whom the physical differences of race and nation are ridiculous or incomprehensible, those to whom mental disagreement is foolishness and those who cannot see that the canons of morality extend beyond their own family or nation, or color of skin. From such a congress should come the beginnings of a vast tolerance and sympathy. Not only a tolerance of the Chinese and Hindus on the part of Europeans, but the just as necessary comprehension of European thought and morality on the part of millions of darker peoples who have slight cause to view it with respect. We may sympathize with the great Peace Movement, we may sympathize with world-wide efforts for moral reform and social uplift, but before them all we must place those efforts which aim to make humanity not the attribute of the arrogant and

John Henry Adams - 1905

THE CHRISTMAS RECKONING

At Christmastide two million Southern Negroes make their annual wage reckoning with the plantation owners and either receive the small balance due or are remanded to debt slavery.

the exclusive, but the heritage of all men in a world where most men are colored.

THE ELECTION.

FOR colored men the Congressional election of 1910 marked an event. Never before since Emancipation have so many colored voters cast the Democratic ticket.

The reason for this was fourfold:

1. Mr. Roosevelt's blunder at Brownsville.

2. The failure of the Republican party to redeem its reiterated pledges to colored men.

3. The policy of ousting Negro officeholders inaugurated by Mr. Taft.

4. The invitation extended by various Democratic candidates in the North and by the party in border States like Missouri.

Was it wise for colored men to vote the Democratic ticket? It is always wise for any voter to vote his honest convictions. Whether or not the colored people will be treated decently by the triumphant Democracy remains to be seen. On this point the appeal sent out to newly elected congressmen by the United Colored Democracy of New York is significant:

"The result places a heavy responsibility on us and, we venture to suggest, on you. Fair and honest as has been the treatment of Negroes by a large part of your party it is nevertheless unfortunately true that a reactionary branch is continually endeavoring through legislation and judicial decision to proscribe and degrade our people.

"In view of this fact we earnestly appeal to you to do all in your power to see that the forces of reaction and race hatred do not take advantage of this Democratic victory to pass oppressive legislation. Should this be done, our efforts for a series of years will be nullified, the Republicans will be able to say, 'I told you so,' and the growing Negro vote will be lost to the Democrats for a long time. As you know in a close contest the colored voters of several large Northern States hold the balance of power.

"We do not expect or ask for special legislation, but we do ask that your party stand up for progressive measures and refuse to be made responsible for any effort to degrade American citizens."

THE GHETTO.

IT IS curious how old ideas recur and ancient ones persist. In earliest times the easiest way to prevent trouble was to separate the combatants—put space between them, herd them in separate sections and territories. So long as the world was wide this was feasible and often effective. As the world grows narrower, it is not so easy and as it grows more civilized it is less advisable. For after all culture is the meeting and learning of men.

For instance, one meets on street or car an impudent colored man. He has some education, he has good clothes and he feels his importance and asserts himself. Like a flash you rush to the conclusion: Such a man ought not to associate with white folks until he learns good manners. But hold; suppose all the ill-mannered white folk were segregated, would that improve the world's deportment? Certainly not. It would make it distinctly and dangerously worse. It is association with the well-bred that brings manners.

How has America come to improve the manners which justly shocked Dickens and Mrs. Martineau? By associating with gentlemen and ladies here and in Europe. It was and is a bit hard on Europe, but it is a great boon for the world.

In America by the accident of color it is possible roughly to separate much ignorance and bad manners by drawing the color line. But it is a barbarous and unjust and unwise expedient, and it leads to the extreme Ghetto idea. The half-trained white Baltimore tradesman reasons logically: If I can push black men out of my way in train and street car, in theatre and art gallery, in church and park, why can I not segregate them in a Ghetto? The Atlanta "cracker," new-

born to good wages and political power, is jealous of ambitious black folk. If he can take a black man's vote away why can he not take his home and force him back to the alley, whence he came?

It is time that the thought and conscience of America took a firm stand on these matters and stopped now and forever such dangerous and undemocratic doctrine.

ADVICE.

THERE is a matter which calls for a solemn editorial in a metropolitan newspaper, namely, the pre-emptying of seats on suburban trains. The New York Times says: "Very often the question, 'Is this seat taken?' which it is well enough to ask before sitting down beside a stranger, is answered with a gruff and resentful 'Yes,' though obviously it is not then 'taken' by anything more than a hat or a newspaper or a valise. This reply is impudent, and it ought to result in a 'scene,' more or less vivacious, every time it is made."

This is the advice to commuters: Make a scene "more or less vivacious" every time!

There is another serious matter which calls our attention: Two thousand five hundred colored men have been lynched in this land in the last 25 years. On this matter we have not been advised to make a scene "more or less vivacious," but on the contrary, a large number of good and influential men have united to deprecate complaint or agitation. Many colored men are disposed to accept this advice, but on the heels of it comes the action of Mexico. One—just one—Mexican was burned in Texas. "We thought no more of it," says the Associated Press dispatch naively, but the land of Mexico was moved from center to circumference; denunciation and even mob violence was threatened and all over *one* criminal.

Can we black men fail to contrast with this the recent interview with a distinguished American in Vienna? He is reported in the columns of Die Zeit to say: "There was no race war in America over the Johnson-Jeffries fight. Not more than a dozen Negroes were killed and now the whole matter is forgotten."

All of which shows how advice may be tempered by race prejudice.

THE INEVITABLE.

IN THE argument of the prejudiced there is a certain usual ending: "But this is inevitable." For instance, a crime is committed by you. I am lynched. "It is inevitable," cries the bystander, "they were both Negroes." A brown man is admitted to a theatre, misbehaves and is ejected. I apply for a ticket and am refused. "It is inevitable," sighs the manager, "you are brown." A yellow man is a fool; therefore, Smith, who is also yellow, is treated like an idiot. "I am sorry," remarks the policeman, "but they are both yellow."

What is the real argument in these cases? It is this: "People who resemble each other in one important respect ought to resemble each other in all important respects and therefore be treated alike. If by any chance they do not so resemble each other, this is unfortunate, for the same treatment must be meted out. This is inevitable."

Is it? It is not inevitable. It is criminal injustice. It is inhuman treatment and it is socially dangerous. It is based on the unscientific assumption that human beings who resemble each other in one important particular, like color of skin, resemble each other in all particulars. This is patently false. Moreover, the social condemnation of an undesirable act or character loses all force or reason when it is directed against one who has not committed the act or has not the condemned character. To allow the mistreatment of such an innocent man—to condone it or defend it, is not inevitable; it is a crime.

THE REAL RACE PROBLEM

By FRANZ BOAS, Professor of Anthropology, Columbia University

[Professor Franz Boas, who writes the leading article this month, is a member of the Department of Anthropology in Columbia University. The editor of Science reports that the leading scientists of America regard this department of Columbia as the strongest in the country. This gives a peculiar weight to Dr. Boas' words, which were first delivered at the Second National Negro Conference in May, 1910.]

The essential problem before us is founded on the presence of two entirely distinct human types in the same community, and relates to the best possible correlation of the activities of these two types. On the whole, the answer to this problem has been based on the assumption of the superiority of the one type and the inferiority of the other. The first question to be answered by scientific investigation is, in how far the Negro type may be considered the inferior, the white type as the superior.

THE NEGRO NOT INFERIOR

The anthropologist recognizes that the Negro and the white represent the two most divergent types of mankind. The differences in color, form of hair, form of face, are known to all of us. Other differences, better known to anthropologists, are those in the proportions of the limbs and of the trunk of the body, and in the size of the brain.

When we consider inferiority and superiority from a general biological point of view, it must be interpreted as meaning that one type is nearer to certain ancestral forms than another. In this sense, the anthropologist must say that in certain respects the Negro resembles the hypothetical ancestral forms of man more than does the European; while in other respects the European shows greater similarity to the supposed ancestral form. Among the Negro race it is particularly the form of the face that reminds us of the ancestral forms of man, while in regard to the proportions of the body, and particularly the length of the limbs, the Negro is more remote from ancestral forms than is the European.

On the whole, the morphological characteristics of the two races show rather a specialized development in different directions than a higher development in the one race as compared with the other.

Ordinarily, however, the question of inferiority and superiority is formulated in a different manner, based essentially on the capacity of mental achievement; and much stress is laid on two points—the lesser size of the brain of the Negro, and the supposed shortness of the period of development of the Negro child.

SIZE OF BRAIN

It is true that the average size of the Negro brain is slightly smaller than the average size of the brain of the white race; but it must be borne in mind that a wide range of brain-forms and brain-sizes occur among the white race, beginning with very small brains and extending to very large ones; that the same is true of the Negro race, and that the difference between the averages of the two races is exceedingly small as compared with the range of variability found in either race. Thus it happens that the brain-weights of the bulk of the Negro race and of the bulk of the white race have the same values, with the sole exception that low brain-weights are slightly more frequent among the Negroes, high brain-weights slightly more frequent among the whites.

Elaborate studies of brains of great men, criminals, and normal individuals have proved that the relation between mental ability and brain-weight is rather remote, and that we are not by any means justified in concluding that the larger brain is always the more efficient tool for mental achievement. There is presumably a slight increase of average ability corresponding to a considerable increase in average brain-weight; but this increase is so slight that in a comparison of the mental ability of the Negro race and of the white race, the difference in size of the brain seems quite insignificant.

The second point of which much has been made is the question of the difference in period of development between the two races. It has been claimed that the Negro child develops favorably, but that its development is arrested at an early date. Unfortunately, these statements are not based on careful examination of facts; and while I am unable to refute these views by bringing forward actual anthropometrical statistics bearing upon the subject, I am also not in a position to sustain them by any reliable evidence. The question is an important one, and should receive serious attention.

But even if the observation had been made, its interpretation would not be an easy one without the most painstaking investigation of the social conditions with which the phenomenon is correlated. We know that in the white race the most favorably situated social groups show the most rapid growth in early childhood and an early completion of development; while the poor, who live under more unfavorable social conditions, show a slow and long-continued development, which, however, in

its entirety, does not equal the amount of physiological development attained by better-situated individuals of the same race. It appears, therefore, that the simple fact of an early completion of development does not by any means prove mental inferiority, because the better-situated element of our white population furnishes a disproportionately large number of capable and efficient individuals, as compared to the less favorably situated groups.

The whole anatomical and physiological comparison of the Negro and of the white race may be summed up in the statement that certain differences between the two races are so fundamental that they seem to form two quite distinct groups of the human species, the characteristics of which, notwithstanding the great variability of each race, do not overlap; while, in regard to other characteristics, the differences are so slight that the difference between the two races is insignificant, as compared to the range of variability exhibited in each race by itself; and that there are hardly any anatomical or physiological traits developed in such manner that we are justified in calling one race anatomically or physiologically higher than the other. The existing differences are differences in kind, not in value. This implies that the biological evidence also does not sustain the view, which is so often proposed, that the mental power of the one race is higher than that of the other, although their mental qualities show, presumably, differences analogous to the existing anatomical and physiological differences.

HANDICAP OF SLAVERY

The objection will be raised that the low stage of culture of the African race in many parts of America, as well as in Africa, shows clearly a lack of mental power, because otherwise the Negro race might have developed a civilization similar to that of Europe. In answer to this objection, we must remember that, on the whole, our conception of African conditions is based altogether too much upon the condition of the uneducated descendant of the American Negro slave. Any one who is familiar with ethnological facts will recognize that the conditions under which the American slave population developed is apt to destroy what little culture may have existed. The complete break with the African past; the imposition of labor, in the results of which the slave had no direct interest; the difficulty of assimilating the elements of civilization by which they were surrounded, all tended equally to reduce to a minimum the amount of independent cultural achievement of the group.

On the other hand, the general impression of African conditions is based altogether too much upon our knowledge of the American Negro. It is not sufficiently well known how highly advanced is the industrial and political organization of aboriginal Africa. Villages that have not been ravaged by Mohammedan or European slave hunters, and which have enjoyed a period of peace, are characterized by high industrial development.

TRADE WELL ORGANIZED.

Agriculture flourishes; men and women are engaged in pottery making, weaving, blacksmith work, and metal casting; trade between the different villages is well organized; and in many cases the political organization, owing to the force of character of great men, has led to the establishment of states which cover territories comparable in size only to large sections of our American continent. I think it is not saying too much if I state that among the primitive people of the world, the natives of Central Africa are by far the most advanced, and that the type of their civilization belongs to the same level of culture which was found a few thousand years ago all over the western part of the Old World, including Europe and Western Asia.

If the Africans have not shared in the development which, after many vicissitudes, gradually extended from Egypt and Babylonia over the Mediterranean area, and from there later into Northern Europe, this is due to the fact that Africa occupied a much more remote position in relation to these countries, and that the current of civilization was carried with much greater difficulty through the virgin forests and deserts of Africa than along the shores of the Mediterranean and across the forests and meadow lands of Europe.

Thus it may safely be said that there is no anthropological evidence showing inferiority of the Negro race as compared with the white race, although we may assume that differences in mental characteristics of the two races exist.

CASE OF THE MULATTO

The question that confronts us is not alone the question of the mental aptitude of the full-blood Negro, but also the question of the ability, vigor, and adaptability of the mulatto. In the course of time, since the Negro has been imported into America, a very large amount of influx of white blood has taken place, which has had the result that in those parts of the country where the Negro does not form a very great majority, full-bloods are presumably quite rare. Owing to the peculiar manner of development of this mulatto population, it is very difficult, if not impossible, to trace the exact amount of white blood and of Negro blood in the mixed races; but even a cursory examination of the prevalent types of the colored population shows clearly that the mixture is very extended.

Here the point has often been raised that the mulatto population is inferior to either pure race, or, to use the popular form of expression, that they inherit all the evil characteristics of both parental races, and none of their good qualities. It is obvious

that in this exaggerated form the statement is untrue. As a matter of fact, this theory is generally used only so far as it may suit our purposes; and the statement that a mulatto of exceptional ability and strength of character owes his eminence to the white strain in his blood is seriously made without being felt as a contradiction to this theory. Serious attempts have been made to investigate the social and vital characteristics of the mulatto as compared to the Negro race and to the white race; but here again we must recognize with regret that a sound basis for safe conclusions has not been gained yet. It is very difficult to differentiate clearly between those characteristics of the mulatto that are due to the social conditions under which he lives, and those that are due to hereditary causes. In order to determine the actual conditions with any degree of accuracy, extensive investigations would have to be carried through with this specific object in view.

It seems to my mind that the assumption which is generally made is very unlikely, for it ought to be possible to find, either in history or in biology, parallel cases demonstrating the evil effects of intermixture upon mixed types. It seems to my mind that the whole early history of our domesticated animals indicates that mixture has hardly ever had detrimental effect upon the development of varieties. Practically none of our domesticated animals are descendants of a single species. The probable history of our European cattle will illustrate what presumably happened. In all likelihood cattle were first domesticated in Asia and came to Europe in company with a number of tribes that migrated from the East westward. At this period large herds of wild cattle existed in Europe. The herds attracted the wild native bulls, which belonged to a distinct species of cattle, and a gradual mixture of the blood of the domesticated and of the wild cattle took place, which had the effect of modifying the type of the animal that was kept.

MODIFICATION IN TYPE.

In the same way domesticated cattle would from time to time escape and join the wild herds; so that admixture occurred also in the wild species. This gradual modification of the type of both wild and domesticated animals may be observed even at the present time in Siberia and in Central Asia; and a zoological investigation of our domesticated animals has shown that practically in all cases this has been the development of the existing types. It is a peculiarity incident to domestication that intermixture of distinct types is facilitated. Among wild animals mixture of different species is, on the whole, rare; and mixture of distinct varieties of the same species does not ordinarily occur, because each variety has its own local habitat.

If we want to understand analogous conditions in mankind clearly, we must remember that man, in his bodily form and in his physiological functions, is strictly analogous to domesticated animals. Practically everywhere human culture has advanced so far that the anatomical type of man cannot be compared to that of wild animals, but must be considered as analogous to the type of domesticated animals. This condition has brought it about that intermixture of distinct types has always been easy.

The types of man which were originally strictly localized have not remained so, but extended migrations have been the rule ever since very early times; in fact, as far back as our knowledge of prehistoric archæology carries us. Therefore we find mixtures between distinct types the world over. For our present consideration the mixed types that occur on the borderland of the Negro races seem particularly interesting. I mention among these the Western people of the Polynesian Islands, who are undoubtedly a mixture of negroid types and of another type related to the Malay, a highly gifted people, which, before European contact, had developed a peculiar and interesting culture of their own. More interesting than these are the inhabitants of the southern borderland of the Sahara.

HOW POPULATIONS WERE MIXED.

In olden times this was the home of the darkest Negro races; but immediately north of them were found people of much lighter complexion, which, in descent, belong to the group of Mediterranean people. They belong to the same group which developed the ancient Egyptian civilization. For long periods these people have made inroads into the Negro territory south of the Sahara, and have established the empire of the Sudan, whose history we can trace about a thousand years back. In this manner a mixed population has developed in many of these regions which has proved exceedingly capable, which has produced a great many men of great power, and which has succeeded in assimilating a considerable amount of Arab culture.

It is quite remarkable to see how, in some of the more remote parts of this country, where intermixture has been very slight, the pure Negro type dominates and has developed exactly the same type of culture which is found in other regions, where the North African type predominates. The development of culture, and the degree of assimilation of foreign elements, depend, in this whole area, not upon the purity of the race, but upon the stability of political conditions, which during long periods have been characterized by an alternation of peaceful development and of warlike conquest.

The history of East Africa, with its extended migrations of people from north to south, is another case illustrating the infusion of foreign blood into the African race without in any way modifying the cultural conditions of the continent, except so

far as the introduction of new inventions is concerned.

MULATTO NOT INFERIOR

I think, therefore, that biological analogy as well as historical evidence do not favor the assumption of any material inferiority of the mulatto. The question, however, deserves a painstaking investigation.

The simple facts that Negroes and Europeans live side by side in our country, that the European receives constant large additions from abroad, while the amount of Negro blood receives no additions from outside, must necessarily lead to the result that the relative number of pure Negroes will become less and less in our country. The gradual process of elimination of the full-blooded Negro may be retarded by legislation, but it cannot possibly be avoided.

It seems to my mind that a very serious misunderstanding of the actual conditions of intermixture between Negro and white prevails in many parts of our country. The fear is often expressed that by intermixture between whites and Negroes the whole mass of the white population might be infused with a certain amount of Negro blood. This is not what has actually occurred, but what would result if unions between white women and Negro men were as frequent as unions between Negro men and white women. As a matter of fact, however, the former type of unions—that of the Negro male and of the white female—are exceedingly few in number as compared to the others. It therefore follows that our mulattoes are almost throughout the offspring of Negro mothers and white fathers. Now, we must remember that the total number of children born in the community depends upon the number of mothers, and that the number of children born of the Negro or mulatto women would be approximately the same, no matter whether the fathers are Negroes, mulattoes, or white men. It thus appears that in all cases where mixture between whites and Negroes occurs, as long as this mixture is predominantly a mixture of white fathers and colored mothers, the relative proportion of Negro blood in the following mixed generation becomes less, and that therefore a gradually increasing similarity of the two racial types may develop.

I think we may say with safety that the intensity of racial feeling always depends upon two important causes. The one is the relative number of the two races which come into contact. Where one of the races is overwhelmingly in the majority, and the other race is represented by a few individuals only, intensity of race feeling is generally rather slight; while in all cases where both types are so numerous as to form large social divisions, characterized by habits of their own, and representing a strong economic influence, intense race feelings easily develop. These feelings are strongly emphasized by a second consideration: namely, the amount of difference of type.

This is true, at least, in all countries inhabited by north European, particularly by Teutonic, nations. As long as the general emotional state of our society persists—and there is no reason to assume that our general attitude will change to any appreciable degree within a measurable time—it seems obvious that our race problems will become the less intense, the less the difference in type between the different groups of our people, and the less the isolation of certain social groups. From this point of view, it would seem that one aspect of the solution of the Negro problem lies entirely in the hands of the Negro himself. The less Negro society represents a party with its own aims and its own interest distinct from those of the members of the white race, the more satisfactory will be the relation between the races. On the other hand, it would seem that the inexorable conditions of our life will gradually make toward the disappearance of the most distinctive type of Negro, which will again tend to alleviate the acuteness of race feeling. It may seem like a look into a distant future; but an unbiased examination of conditions as they exist at the present time points to the ultimate result of a levelling of the deep distinctions between the two races and a more and more fruitful co-operation.

N. A. A. C. P. LECTURE RECITAL

Mrs. Mary Church Terrell and Madame Azalia Hackley, at the Berkeley Theatre, 21 West 44th Street, Wednesday, December 7, at eleven a. m.

PATRONESSES:

Mrs. William H. Baldwin, Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont, Mrs. Harriet Stanton Blatch, Mrs. Walston R. Brown, Mrs. John Dewey, Mrs. Clinton P. Farrell, Mrs. Ida Husted Harper, Mrs. Robert G. Ingersoll, Miss Maud R. Ingersoll, Mrs. John E. Milholland, Mrs. Max Morgenthau, Jr., Mrs. Frederick Nathan, Mrs. E. R. A. Seligman, Mrs. V. C. Simkhovitch, Miss Lillian D. Wald, Mrs. Henry Villard and Mrs. Diana Belais.

Tickets may be had of Miss Frances Blascoer, 20 Vesey Street, Room 610.

THE BURDEN

If blood be the price of liberty,
If blood be the price of liberty,
If blood be the price of liberty,
Lord God, we have paid in full.

COLORED MEN LYNCHED WITHOUT TRIAL.

1885.....	78	1898.....	102
1886.....	71	1899.....	84
1887.....	80	1900.....	107
1888.....	95	1901.....	107
1889.....	95	1902.....	86
1890.....	90	1903.....	86
1891.....	121	1904.....	83
1892.....	155	1905*.....	60
1893.....	154	1906*.....	60
1894.....	134	1907*.....	60
1895.....	112	1908*.....	80
1896.....	80	1909.....	73
1897.....	122	1910†.....	50

Total.....2.425

*Estimated.
†Estimated to date.

PINK FRANKLIN.

As was mentioned last month, Pink Franklin is sentenced to die two days before Christmas. Had it not been for the three years' fight made by two colored lawyers he would be dead to-day. Yet here is the history of his case, not from black lips or Northern lips, but from a local white Southern paper, the Columbia State:

May 25, 1907, J. I. Valentine, magistrate, issued a warrant for the arrest of Pink Franklin, a Negro, charged by J. D. Thomas with violating an agricultural contract. Franklin had moved before that date to the farm of Sol Spires, twelve miles distant.

"About daybreak" on July 29th—64 days after the date of the warrant—Henry E. Valentine, brother of the magistrate, and W. M. Carter, who lived near the Spires place and had been pressed into service as constable by Valentine, who wished some one to identify Franklin, whom he did not know, appeared at Franklin's door, and Valentine demanded admittance. There was no response. Valentine sent Carter to guard the rear of the house while he entered the front door. The prosecution's witnesses refer to his opening the door and going in; the defense to his bursting down the door. Pistol in hand he entered a hall and then the door of the dark bedroom in which were Franklin and his wife. Firing began. Carter returned to the front, ran in the hall and reached the room door, when he received a pistol shot flesh wound in the side, and thereupon ran to Sol Spires's house, and asked to be taken to a doctor. A minute later Pink Franklin came up wounded in the shoulder, "made mention" he had shot a man in his house, and asked Spires to take him to a doctor. Franklin spoke to Carter and told him he did not know him when he shot. Before Spires got a horse hitched up Franklin left the yard. Neither Constable Carter nor Spires made any effort to arrest or detain him.

Constable Valentine was found lying mortally wounded inside the bedroom of Franklin's house; Franklin's wife was slightly wounded.

Henry E. Valentine, the slain constable, was a popular young man, and his friends and neighbors were enraged at his killing. Parties went in search of Franklin, and a lynching was predicted. He fell into other hands, however, and was taken to the penitentiary at Columbia for safe keeping. Several Negroes, suspected of knowing where Franklin was, were whipped by Valentine's friends. Tony Jerry, after being whipped, was committed to jail as a state's witness. The gist of his testimony was that he saw a pistol in Franklin's vest pocket the day before the shooting, and "I heard him say that no one man could arrest him." Subsequently Jerry made affidavit that he testified as he did against his will, and that there was no truth in what he said.

Now we come to the question of a juror —the jury having returned for further information from the judge—and the reply of the judge. There are two points for the lover of justice to bear in mind; first, that the warrant for breach of contract was issued more than two months before the attempted arrest of Franklin, that the defendant had no knowledge of the proximity of the constable, nor did he know Valentine; and, second, that there was no demand in the name of the law, or other word to indicate that the invasion of Franklin's house was supported by a legal process.

We quote from the record. A conscientious juror, seeking to harmonize the power of the law with the sacred right of a man to defend his home—his "castle"—and to have defined where one shall respect the other, speaks:

Juror Wannamaker asks: "Has a constable or officer of the law a right to enter a house without first stating his mission?"

His Honor: "Not unless it is necessary."

Juror: "Is it not necessary for an officer to call to the party on the inside and state his mission?"

His Honor: "I should think not, Mr. Wannamaker. Common prudence would demand that he ask admission, but he has the right to demand admission."

Juror: "If he received no response to his call he would have the right to enter?"

His Honor: "Yes, sir; or, if the house were closed and he received no response and he has good reason to believe that the refusal to answer amounts to a resistance to his authority, then he has the right to force an entrance. If admission be refused he has a right to force admission."

If that is the law, then the law is despotic, and home has no sanctity. If a man must open his door to any that come knocking, without announcing their authority or their mission, his legal "castle" is built of tissue paper.

What possible "necessity" justifies an ununiformed officer, personally unknown to the occupants of a house, in forcing his way in without saying, "I am an officer"?

If the law is based on common sense and if a man has the right to protect his home against unlawful attack, then the burden of establishing legal authority for an assault upon a home must rest upon the assailants, and not upon the householder.

Let justice be done.

A JIM CROW LINE.

Efforts of the Democrats to prevent Negroes from voting were centered in Precinct C of the Fifth Ward, where a Jim Crow line was established for Negro voters. Negroes were jerked out of line by the police to make way for Democrats.

The establishment of the Jim Crow line delayed the Negroes from entering the polls as rapidly as white voters. Once inside they were given a lengthy examination as to their qualifications. They were compelled to read the sections of the Constitution containing a long list of Indian names, legal and technical terms. In case the pronunciation of the name of some Indian county was not in accord with the election officer the voter was turned down.

T. R. Debman, Negro, head of the science department in the high school, and Rev. H. H. Martin, Negro, were jerked out of line by Patrolman Veazey and Ike Ashburn, and their places given to white voters. Several other similar cases were reported. —Oklahoma City Times, Nov. 8, 1910.

THE CASE OF BLACKWELL.

A Negro farmer named Blackwell, of Clarendon County—a man who makes about 100 bales of cotton a year—is in jail at Manning, held without bail, pending the result of pistol shot wounds inflicted by him upon a chain gang "trusty," who came to Blackwell's house armed with gun or rifle, acted in a suspicious manner and refused to leave when ordered away.

According to our dispatches from Manning a convict escaped from the chain gang, and the "trusty"—wearing stripes, we presume—"was armed and sent in search of the fugitive."

When an armed convict comes to a man's home, acts queerly and refuses to leave when ordered off, what is the householder to do? Had Ned Blackwell been a white farmer "growing 100 bales of cotton" and having the same respect of his neighbors enjoyed by the Negro farmer, and had he wounded an armed convict who came to his house, acted suspiciously and refused to move on, would the white farmer be held in jail without bail. Most emphatically, No!—The State, Columbia, S. C.

THE REWARD OF THRIFT.

"Notice has been sent at least three well-to-do colored men living in Warrenton, Ga., and to one widow, who have succeeded in making money in some kind of business enterprise, that they must leave immediately, because the white people of that section won't stand for wealthy colored people. I have secured the names of these colored men and the woman. One of the men dares not leave his house by the front door, and never answers a knock at the door for fear of being shot on sight. No charge has been presented against them. They have simply offended their white neighbors, because they have become too prosperous. The man who never goes to his front door was forced to close out his business altogether. He was paid dollar for dollar, as I understand it, but the white people who forced him to sell refused to pay him a cent profit."

PRECEPT AND PRACTICE.

A large audience was leaving New York's finest theatre. The play had been upon the Negro question, and one couple had been especially thrilled by the fine heroism of the white man, who, finding that he had a few drops of colored blood, allied himself with the despised race. "How magnificent," they were saying, "to dedicate oneself to the cause of the oppressed!"

Walking a few blocks they turned into a restaurant. After giving their order they noticed a man, a mulatto in coloring, enter and seat himself at a table. Presently a waiter came to him and whispered something. The man shook his head, and the waiter went to the proprietor.

"I really believe," the couple said, watching curiously, "that they are going to ask that man to leave. What a shame, for he is quite light and very good looking."

The proprietor came to the man as he sat at the table, and after a few words, the couple amusing themselves guessing their import, the colored man rose and left.

"That was too bad, wasn't it," one said to the other, "and right here in our own city. Perhaps the poor fellow really needed a meal," and they went on placidly enjoying their own.

TALKS ABOUT WOMEN

NUMBER ONE

By Mrs. JOHN E. MILHOLLAND

The restlessness of woman the world over has led the female members of our population into activities never dreamed of in the days when our mothers and sisters were content to be simply good homekeeping and homemaking housewives, devoted entirely to the family, its interests and their own social duties. That day has passed, and with the change in economic conditions, women have had to go into the business world to compete with men. In many cases their work is of a kind that in years gone by was looked upon as belonging by right to the stronger sex.

This emerging from the home into a broader and more competitive field of labor has given to woman an opportunity to develop along lines quite new to her in the more conservative and homebound horizon.

In a way, too, modern society has been largely affected by this new development, and that in a manner most desirable in a country like ours, which has for its very foundations democracy, both in form and fact. Take, for instance, the suffrage, certainly the most vital, as well as the most important, of interests of the New Woman Movement. In this reform alone we have a complete upsetting of former social standards. We find the woman of fashion and wealth working side by side in all harmony with a sister who earns her living by working in a factory or shop. Each is so interested in procuring for herself, as well as for her sex, the right of political freedom, that there is neither time nor inclination for the one to think or care about the social standing of the other. All that the cause requires is live, active workers, with a vital interest and determined effort to bring about the reform they all have at heart—"Votes for women."

The colored women have done their share in this march for progress and the betterment of their sex; but, as yet, their efforts seem to have been made principally within their own circle and among their own race. It is time now, however, that they come forward and help share with their white sisters their responsibilities, and seek to obtain for both recognition as citizens possessed of political rights.

These rights which the progressive woman of to-day claims as her own are demanded of the same spirit of justice which granted to the Negro, fifty years ago, his right of Suffrage and made him a factor in the political affairs of the nation. But, as any one who thinks about the matter at all well knows, the political freedom of the colored man is really "freedom" in name only so far as the South is concerned. Though he may sometimes have the right to vote, he certainly is not allowed the right to cast that vote where and for whom he chooses. So it would seem a wise and progressive step for our colored women to look carefully into the question of Suffrage. Surely its value as a useful weapon for bringing about not only her own enfranchisement, but also for securing to the Negro of the South the political freedom to which he is justly entitled, must appeal to her.

At any rate "In union there is strength," and therefore the woman's rights movement demands and deserves the united and harmonious effort of every woman in this country, no matter what her color, her creed or her condition among men.

LETTERS

FROM DUTCH WORKINGMEN.

The Protestant Laboring Men's Association, "Francisco Ferrer," of Amsterdam, adopted the following motion in their meeting of November 1st last:

Having taken due note of the circular issued by the National Negro Committee, which was brought to the attention of the people of Great Britain and Europe, and considering that the existing conditions of

the Negro in America, as described in the circular above mentioned, are mainly due to the apathy in regard to similar affairs of other people and to the general absence of interest of the world at large in humane affairs, we are of the opinion that everybody who means well and who wishes to change present living conditions and circumstances must realize that the interest in humanity must find its foundation in the depths of his own heart; that such social evils must be attacked at their source, and overcome there.

Influential corporations and persons should be asked humbly but earnestly to take the initiative in establishing an international committee (such, for instance, as the "Association Internationale pour la lutte contre le chomâge"), and we request the press to be so kind as to publish this motion.

FROM A RUSSIAN REVOLUTIONIST.

"I was arrested for intellectual and cultural influence upon my fellow exiles and transported to the wild banks of the River Pecpora, near the North Pole. Have we not to struggle with the same inaccessible wall of prejudice and hatred, nursed by centuries? I shall try to know better the history and modern condition of your race, whose good nature and ingenuous beauty of a good and open heart I admired from childhood, reading descriptions of voyages into Africa. Perhaps it does not suit me, as a stranger, to criticise the words of some honorable men of your race, but they are not right who speak about the spiritual submission of the Negroes. There is something that nobody of us can give up—it's the manly pride and self-respect. And when the intelligent part of a people is given up they commit a crime toward their nation. And never will it be redeemed."

FROM A NORTHERN WHITE MAN.

I grew up with a personal repugnance to black folks and Jews. Since I learned to recognize the groundlessness of all class distinctions I have never come sufficiently close to either Negroes or Jews to entirely rid myself of this physical feeling. But that religion, any real religion which accepts the Golden Rule and the law of love, must reject all class and race distinctions is beyond doubt. The old saying ran, "Scratch a civilized man and you find a savage." The race prejudice against "Chink" and "Jap" and "Hindu," almost as strongly as against "Nigger," is one of the most persistent of our savage traits; but there are a lot of others that are found in the Negro as in the White. And isn't the problem with all of us, after all, not how we can reform the world, but how we can reform ourselves, individually, and live our individual lives in accordance with the law of love and the Golden Rule?

FROM A SOUTHERN WHITE MAN.

"I know that we white, or so-called white people, are prejudiced against the darker races of the human family. It is, indeed, unfortunate that we are so. I am a native of a Southern State. I was much surprised to find, when I went north of the Mason and Dixon line, to find, in some instances, the prejudice stronger against the black man than it was in the South.

"Experience has long since taught me that color does not make the man. I have three sons all of whom have attended the same school with black boys. We have endeavored to teach them that color was only 'skin deep,' and that true manhood and womanhood does not belong to any particular race, and I think that we have succeeded in doing so."

FROM A COLORED MAN.

"The unjust discriminations which are imposed upon Negro travelers I believe are due largely to our own failure to do what we can to ward off such. Now I do not believe that there is any respectable court that would sustain the open, flagrant discrimination that can be established all over the South. For example, I was visiting in Oklahoma City. There are three waiting rooms, namely, one each for white ladies, white men, and Negroes; but a casual glance will show one is for respectable white people, one is for white toughs, foreigners, Indians, etc., and the other for Negroes. There are two ticket offices: one for respectable white people, and one for the white toughs in that room labeled for white men, where all kinds of white people, foreigners, Indians, and everything deemed improper to be in the room labeled 'White Ladies,' are, and there the best, most refined colored lady has to go in and get a ticket. There could be no question about the unfair discrimination there, and others might be mentioned. But it is useless to speak to you about this, because you know better than I can tell you how easily we can establish the practice of unfair discrimination by the railroad companies.

"Now I am satisfied no one Negro ought to make this fight against these corporations. It is not an individual fight, it is a race fight. I am also satisfied that the race has the intelligence and the money necessary to vigorously prosecute the practice of manifest unjust discrimination. It seems to me that until we do this, we ourselves are largely responsible for the inequality in railroad travel: for the refusal in so many cases of allowing the Negro to take advantage of the Pullman service. I am deeply interested, and I thought possibly making this suggestion to you, you might be able to suggest or work out a way by which we could make an organized effort and appeal to the race and get the necessary fund that the race and not an individual may make this fight."

WHAT TO READ

ARTICLES.

Warnock Street Sketches. Frances R. Bartholomew. The Forecast, November.
Vocational Education. Mason A. Hawkins. Education, November.
The Fee System. Carl Crow. Saturday Evening Post, November 19.
Chapters from My Experience. B. T. Washington. World's Work, November.
Negro: A Portrait. Outlook. September 10, 1910.
Real Africa. H. Ward. Scribner's, October.
Full Light on Indian Unrest. J. R. Garvin. Fortnightly Review, September.
Just What Does India Want Politically? S. N. Singh. North American Review, September.
Indian Land Troubles. F. E. Leupp. Review of Reviews, October.
Law and the Indian. E. Flower. Atlantic, October.
Actual China. Independent. September 22.
Diary of Reconstruction Period. Gideon Wells. Atlantic, October and November.
African Sketches. Janet Allardyce. Scribner's, November.
African Guides I Have Met. E. A. Forbes. World's Work, November.

BOOKS.

Sir Harry Johnston—Britain Across the Seas. Africa: A History and Description of the British Empire in Africa. London. pp. 450.
F. Van der Linden—Le Congo: Les Noirs et Nous. Paris. pp. 389.
F. E. Leupp—The Indian and His Problem. New York. pp. 396.
G. C. Wheeler—The Tribe and Intertribal Relations in Australia.
J. R. Ficklen—History of Reconstruction in Louisiana Through 1868. Johns Hopkins Press.
E. Sheldon—The Nigger. McMillan. pp. 269.
G. T. Stephenson—Race Distinctions in American Law. Appleton. pp. 388.
Gertrude Stein—Three Lives. Grafton Press, New York. pp. 279.
B. T. Riley—The White Man's Burden. Birmingham, Ala. pp. 238.
E. Smith Jones—An Ode to Ethiopia. pp. 14.
R. L. Waring—As We See It: A Novel. Washington. pp. 233.
C. G. Davis—Why Not Now? Badger. pp. 114.
Cassell—Wake Up, Liberians! Government Printing Office, Liberia. pp. 21.

ARCHER'S AFRO-AMERICA.

"Through Afro-America" is the attempt of an English philosopher, on a hasty tour through the States, to find an offhand solution of the race problem. His observations are always interesting, and sometimes shrewd. There is an inchoate jumbling of the journalistic and the philosophic features. A book that is the outcome of a holiday jaunt or a hunting trip rarely ever contains a convincing philosophy. Mr. Archer professes a personal dislike or at least distaste for the Negro, which he persuades himself to believe is a natural antipathy. There is no doubt that while Mr. Archer would object to close association with a well-dressed and well-mannered black person, and with an ill-dressed and ill-mannered white one, his objection would doubtless be less accentuated along a lonely road than on a fashionable boulevard. What part of this repugnance, in either case, is innate and what part is derived from the prevailing fashion of environment and tradition would constitute a problem in psychology which would tax the ingenuity of the author if he were bent on a more serious task than a holiday diversion.

Of course, Mr. Archer preserves an attitude of fairness. Every Englishman is bound to do this. With the notion of innate race antipathy there is but one logical outcome, which it is not necessary to cross the waters or write a book to discover. With such notions, it is easy to foresee that the author would advocate race separation. With no originality and less convincing force, he proposes as a solution a racial state with legal restriction of the right of residence. This is merely the Baltimore proposal on a large scale. All such shifting substitutes for right and justice must be repudiated or else we must rewrite, not only our National Constitution and declaration of rights, but the very laws of ethics upon which the permanent progress of the human race depends.

"Eminent Negro Men and Women," by John Edward Bruce, is a laudable attempt to bring before the minds of Negro youth the deeds and doings of the best of their race. The author's express purpose is to "awaken race pride." The selections lack proportion. One is surprised to find in the same category with Fred Douglass and Toussaint L'Overture, names of men who are redeemed from obscurity only for the moment and by the author's generosity. The questionaire placed at the end of each biography admirably renders the book suitable as a supplementary reader in schools.

BOOKS

When our readers wish to know where to buy the best books on race and other human problems they should consult this list:

A BOOK ALL INTERESTED IN HUMAN PROBLEMS OUGHT TO READ

JOHN BROWN

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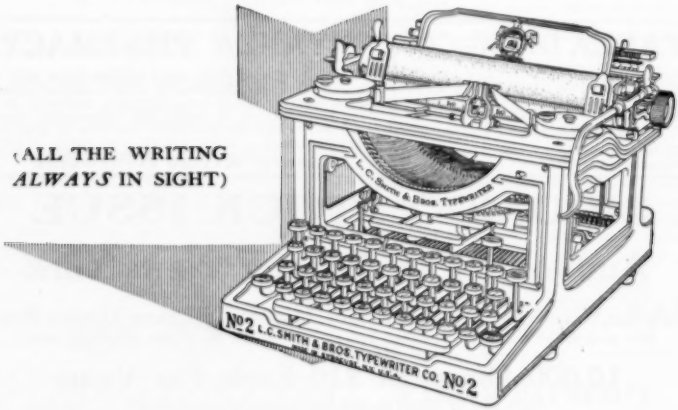

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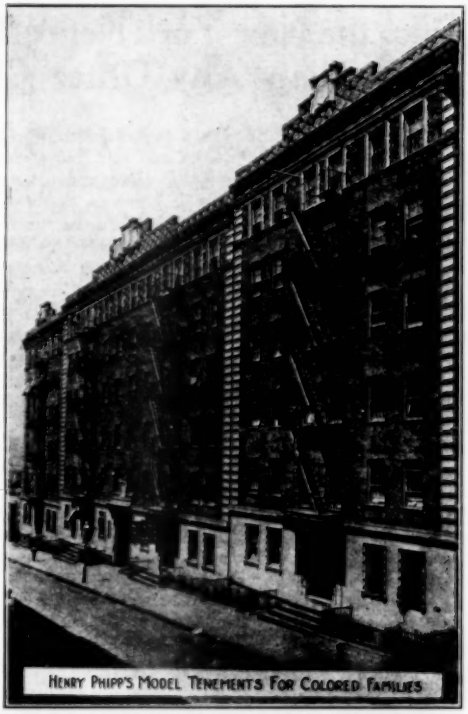
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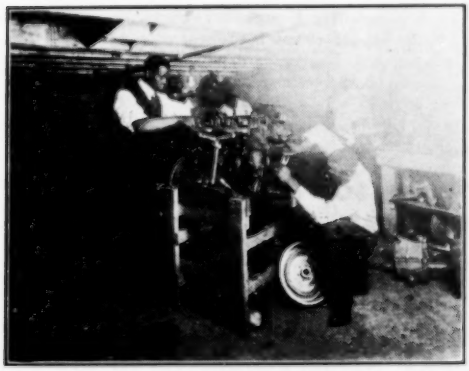

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In 1900, when we started out in the real estate business, as the first Negro agents in New York City, making a specialty of the management of colored tenements, rents were lower in the city than they had been in years, as every well-informed real estate man knows. The supply of apartments for white tenants was far in excess of the demand. Notwithstanding this state of affairs, owners preferred to maintain their houses with vacancies and low rents rather than to fill them with Negroes at increased rents, so intense was the prejudice against Negroes as tenants.

As an illustration of the conditions that existed, we cannot do better than to cite an actual case. We opened a house for Negro tenants at the end of a row of houses occupied by whites. Naturally, the house immediately adjoining suffered the most. There was a reduction made in the rents for the entire row, notwithstanding that many whites moved; but the most peculiar phase of the whole affair was that it was necessary to rent the apartments on the side of the house adjoining the Negroes at $4.00 per month less than those on the other side of the same house, although the apartments were exactly alike.

Now, then, when the Negro tenants were put in these houses an effort was made to restore the rents to something like what they were before the invasion of Negroes. The Negro, knowing nothing of the continual dropping of rents for whites, due to this event, most naturally concluded that he was paying more rent than was ever paid by the whites.

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A fair and unbiased investigation will prove beyond a possible doubt the absolute correctness of this statement, strange as it may seem.

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